

THE

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CANADIAN RAILROADER



VETERANS AND LABOR AFFAIRS



RACK-RENTING REMEDIES



OTTAWA, LONDON AND SCOTTISH LETTERS

From Our Own Correspondents

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Meeting Association
of Canada

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OUR LONDON LETTER

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, January 9th.

RAILWAY matters hold the field of industrial interest this week. The Government's offer to the National Union of Railwaymen, resulting from the strike, has been published in detail and a summary considered by the men at mass and branch meetings. These gatherings were nearly all unanimous for rejection.

It had to be recognised, however, that this could hardly end the matter. Decisions of first importance are arrived at in this union by way of delegates conference only and this week representatives of the 60 districts in which the country is divided for railway union purposes are meeting at Unity House, London. They are hearing and discussing the full story of what happened at the negotiations and the reasons why the chiefs of the organisation urge acceptance.

A few particulars regarding the character of the offer may be interesting.

A sliding scale principle was adopted based on the rise or fall in the cost of living. For drivers, firemen and cleaners, provision has been made already. The terms offered by the Government for all other adults in the conciliation grades were as follows:

Addition of 38s. to ascertained average pre-war weekly rate in a grade or group of grades.

This combined sum will form present abnormal standard rate grade or group, and be subject to a sliding scale reduction or increase of 1s. a week for every fall or rise of a full 5 points in the cost of living, as shown in the figures published by the Ministry of Labour, the present figure being 125 per cent above pre-war cost.

No reduction of "average rate plus 38s." can take place until after September 30th, 1920.

Any adjustment in rates of pay are to be considered at quarterly meetings of Central Wages Board.

Permanent standard rates of wages for various grades show an increase of at least 100 per cent on the average pre-war rates. The rates for any grade were not to fall below these permanent standards, however much the cost of living might come down, so that if and when these rates are reached

as a result of the adjustments referred to above, they would come into force as the permanent rates.

A comprehensive series of tables prepared by the National Union of Railwaymen showed how the new rates would affect each grade of worker.

They took the average pre-war rate over 15 of the largest companies, and added the extra 38s. making the new rate. Then, in an adjoining column, they gave the "stop" figure — that is the figure below which the wages in that grade would not fall, however much cost of living falls, because it must always remain at least 100 per cent above 1914 rates.

For instance, the average of porters (Grade 1) was taken as 22s. a week, and 38s. added, making the proposed rate 60s. a week. This 60s. could not fall below 46s. Here are a few specimen figures:

	New Minimum rates or "stop"
Porters — Grade 1	60s. 46s.
Porters — Grade 2	
London	58s. 42s.
Other places	56s. 40s.
Leading porters —	
London	50s. 45s.
Other places	58s. 43s.
Letter sorters	60s. 48s.
Parcel sorters (leading)	65s. 56s.
Parcel sorters	66s. 50s.
Ticket collectors	
Class 1.	65s. 58s.
Class 2.	61s. 54s.
Train ticket collectors	65s. 60s.
Train attendants	61s. 50s.
Gatemen and collectors on electric trains, not in charge	61s. 50s.
Guards (all) 1st year	60s. 50s.
Shunters (all)	
Class 1	69s. 65s.
Class 2	66s. 60s.
Class 3	63s. 55s.
Class 4	60s. 50s.

Objections to the scheme fall mainly under the following heads:

That the original demand for the addition of 33s. to the highest rate in each grade, to constitute the new permanent standard, should be pressed for.

That this "principle was conceded in the case of engine drivers

and firemen and should therefore be applied to all other grades. The alternative sliding scale is objected to.

That a permanent minimum of 60s. in the lowest paid grade should be established.

That the lowest minimum should be 70s.

That men employed by the companies which now pay the highest rates will actually lose by reason of the average of fifteen companies being taken to form the present proposed rates. Many North Eastern men claim that they are adversely affected in this way.

That the reduction to the permanent minimum as cost of living fell would be much greater for men in the lower paid grades than for those in the higher paid grades. For instance, the difference between the permanent minimum and the present wage under the offer for second grade porters would be 16s. (proposed rates 56s. minimum 40s.) while for eight year service guards the difference would be only 4s. (proposed rates 69s., permanent minimum 56s.)

Some of the units of the panic Press have been busy predicting a railway strike, but at present there is no evidence that anything of the kind will take place. It is much more likely that amendments will be suggested to the Government and considered before any drastic steps are taken. There is little disposition in general Labour ranks towards another railway stoppage. Labour has some bye-elections still on hand and does not desire to prejudice its chances at

the polls. Neither, for that matter, does the Government.

The Moulders have had their conference with the employers and the leaders have agreed to terms. But as I write, the news arrives that the men, by a majority of 9,000, refuse to accept them, and so the strike goes on. The other unions are not too happy about it and, though they continue to support the Moulders financially, are far from unanimous in approving the latest decision. To solve the problem of this dispute will now prove one of the most difficult tasks Labor has ever had to undertake.

A strike which is affording an interesting economic situation is that of the agents of the Pearl Insurance Company. It is claimed that about 3,000 of these are out. They contend that under the terms of their contract they can earn little over £2 a week, which is mighty poor income in England these days, and the only reply the company can put up is that they average £3 and it is impossible to pay them any more. The "average" argument lets in water of itself, for it admits there are men who earn less and the obvious retort to the other is that a company which cannot afford to pay its workers a living wage has not justified its existence. Trade unionists are withholding contributions to the Pearl until the strike is settled, but the danger is that if this policy is followed too long, the right to benefit will have lapsed and policy holders will be the losers rather than the company. Holders can, of course, seek the assistance of the Courts Emergency Act and be protected for six months, but many of them are of the poorer working classes with little knowledge of how to take such steps and less inclination to adopt them even if they understood. Before long, the Pearl will have to be taught a trenchant lesson.

Farm workers are the latest department of organised industry to decide upon fresh demands. At a conference of the Workers' Union, which has 150,000 members, it was resolved to require a 50s. minimum wage, with a minimum advance of 10s. for all agricultural workers.

Ethelbert Pogson.

WORKED BOTH WAYS

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OUR SCOTTISH LETTER

(From our own Correspondent.)

Glasgow, Jan. 17.

THE conference this week between the National Federation of Engineering Employers and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers came to an end without any definite result being reached. The question of payment by result is in the meantime to be considered in conjunction with questions arising out of the 47-hours' week. The workers' delegates complained of long delays, and the objections of the employers to settle the questions of overtime and night-shifts. They contended they had been loyal for twelve months while negotiations had been hung up, and requested the employers to make arrangements for local conferences, so that improvements might be made at an early late in the conditions requiring change. The conference adjourned, but will reassemble early next month.

Miners Affairs

For a considerable time, the lead miners at Wanlockhead and Leadhills, have been agitating for an equivalent of the Sankey Award conceded to the workers in coal mines. The Lanarkshire Miners' Union has repeatedly made overtures to the Coal Controller and the Government on the subject, but without material advantage to the lead miners. Lately, the British Miners' Federation stepped in, and a ballot has been taken of the lead miners. This shows a substantial majority for a strike.

The Castlecary fireclay miners have, by means of a ballot, decided to uphold the decision of the Scottish Mine Workers' Union calling the men out on strike, in order to enforce the recognition of the local union in connection with Messrs J. G. Stein & Co.'s High

Bonnybridge workers, who are at present out on strike.

An agreement has been reached between the management of the Cadder pits and the Lanarkshire Miners' Union in regard to the strike of 400 mine workers. Work will be resumed immediately. For about two months, the men have been on strike, with the approval of the Lanarkshire Miners' Union, as a protest against the action taken by the management to secure the removal of two checkweighmen who, the company alleged, had interfered with the working of the pits during the railway strike. As the checkweighmen are appointed and paid by the men to check the weight of coal sent to the surface, the issue involved was one such as has seldom arisen in recent years. When the action came to court, in Glasgow, the case was adjourned until a date in January, but the men remained out. It is understood that the proceedings are to be dropped, and the checkweighmen concerned allowed to remain.

At a conference between Scottish coalowners and representatives of the colliery smithy workers, held in December last, in Glasgow,

the smithy workers made a claim for time and half for all overtime worked during the week and double time from Saturday midnight to Sunday midnight. After some discussion, the coalowners offered time and quarter for all overtime. This offer, the blacksmiths' delegates declined to accept without first placing it before the members. A ballot vote was taken, which resulted in a decision against acceptance of the offer, by a large majority. A further conference was held this week with the coalowners, who stated that they could not make any advance on the offer given, as the Engine-men's Union had accepted similar terms. Mr. James Jarvie, one of the blacksmiths' delegates, in reply, said they would have to put the whole question again before the branches with regard to taking further action, as the colliery smithy workers were the only smithy workers in the country that were not already being paid the claim asked for.

Glasgow Drivers' Strike.

The Scottish Horse and Motor-men's Union and the United Vehicle Workers, the two unions concerned in the Glasgow taxi and funeral drivers' strike, had a conference this week, when common action was agreed upon. An official stated the Vehicle Workers' Union had a letter from the Ministry of Labor to the effect that they were

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waiting instructions from London regarding the request for an inquiry under the Industrial Courts Act.

The threat of the workers, on the Glasgow Subway, to come out on strike, took effect last night, efforts at a settlement having failed. The directors have stated that should a sufficient number of employees remain at work, one circle will be run, but if this is not found possible, the service of trains will be suspended until further notice.

Award to Gas Workers.

The award of the Industrial Court, in the matter of the gas workers, of Great Britain and Ireland, was issued this week. The Court have upheld the principle of discrimination between the larger and smaller undertakings, and award to male workers, aged 18 and over, an advance of 5s., 4s., and 3s., per week, according to the output of the particular undertaking concerned. The parties were the National Federation of General Workers and the Federation of Gas Employers. The advances shall take effect as from the beginning of the first pay period following December, 1919.

Glasgow Waitresses.

Glasgow waitresses and kitchen staffs, who are incorporated in the National Federation of Women Workers, had a meeting this week, to discuss the wages question. Many of the girls, it was stated, are working for 12s. per week. The matter was left in the hands of the Union.

Hamecurers' Threat.

Notices have been tendered by employees of the wholesale provision and hamecurers' trade of Glasgow, that they will strike from tonight, if their demands for increased wages are not granted. About 2000 men, covering fifty firms, are concerned. The rates asked are 1s. 10d. per hour (an increase of 4½d.) for skilled men, and 1s. 6d. for washers, with a working week of 44 hours.

James Gibson.



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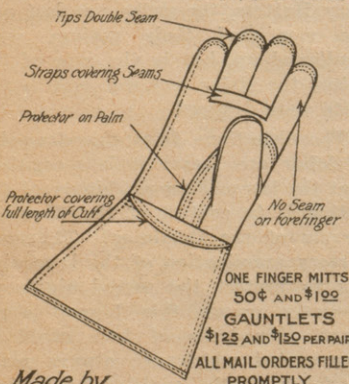
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The War Veterans' Attitude to Labor Questions

IN adopting a resolution, the Nova Scotia command of the Great War Veterans Association of Canada proposed to define the course of labor in its economic struggle. The resolution concerns itself with these points:

- 1.—The right of labor to organize.
- 2.—The recognition of organized labor and its right to negotiate with its employers.
- 3.—The right to strike, within the constitutional authority of the Dominion of Canada.
- 4.—That all labor organizations be incorporated.
- 5.—That all contracts entered into between employers and organized labor organizations, when within the constitution of the Dominion of Canada, shall be legal and binding upon the contracting parties or organizations.
- 6.—Reasonable trade tests for candidates to trades unions, so as to protect employers and the general public from "incompetents" and "inefficients".
- 7.—That in order that a strike be lawful, it shall be necessary that a majority of the employees affected thereby shall have declared by ballot in favor of such strike.
- 8.—That such legislation should not in any way circumscribe the objects of labor or dictate its policies.

The resolution concludes as follows:

"And be it further resolved that, so long as organized labor in Canada pursues its aims and objects by constitutional methods, the G. W. V. A. may aid, assist and support their legitimate undertakings for the improvement and advancement of labor as a class.

"And be it further resolved that, in the event of organized labor pursuing illegal and unconstitutional methods, the G. W. V. A. will consider it their right and duty, as Canadian citizens, to oppose and assist to repress such illegal and unconstitutional methods."

Before I conclude I shall attempt to show you that there is ground to question the wisdom of some of the clauses in this soldier resolution. On August 16th, 1919, I wrote an analysis concerning the incorporation of trade unions. Manufacturers throughout the country reconsidered their attitude and competent men in various walks of life admitted the error of their doctrines. I will presently specify reasons to strengthen my position. For the sake of brevity I will not discuss each and every cause. Permit me in passing, however, to say that the labor movement is dumb-founded that the war veterans in convention saw fit to define the future activity of labor on fundamental issues. That the War Veterans of Nova Scotia were not fitted by training or experience to undertake this presumptuous programme is amply attested by clause number four,

as I shall show. Search the records wherever you like, examine the documents of two thousand trades unions in Canada, look through the records of all provincial, interprovincial and national conventions, scrutinize the declarations of every delegation, and you will discover that the trades unions give their heartiest support and co-operation to every measure that would be of benefit to the returned soldier. There is no single exception on record. Soldiers pensions, pensions to dependents, soldiers re-establishment, gratuities, education, re-employment; the labor move-

convention and you state that you are ready to oppose, and that you are ready to oppress a strike, and you qualify by using the words "unconstitutional" or "illegal" strike, and here is where the argument begins. All labor organizations are regulated by constitutions which provide that the consent of the international organization must be given before a strike can be called. In the world of organized labor there is no such thing as an illegal or unconstitutional strike. A body of men may violate their constitutions and act, not within their rights or the jurisdiction of organized labor, but as a body of citizens without any jurisdiction from the grand or international lodges. Where this strike is unconstitutional from the viewpoint of the trades unions, it is not unconstitutional or illegal from the federal viewpoint.



THE "BOGEY" OF THE "FLU."

ment has endorsed everything which you have asked because it believes that the State can never pay its full obligation to you. During the war, practically all trades unions carried their soldier members on their pension and other benefit funds without charge. Now, suppose that when labor held the big convention in Hamilton a resolution had been introduced and passed defining exactly what labor expected you as soldiers to do; suppose it had been said that if you did not follow a certain procedure, constitutional or unconstitutional, labor would lay down its tools and quit, you soldiers would soon have started a terrible commotion. Yet you go into your own

It is perfectly legitimate for a body of workmen who are not trades unionists to lay down their tools and quit work. Such a strike is not unconstitutional because no international organization has jurisdiction, so no constitution is violated. If a body of men go on a rampage with the avowed intention of upsetting the Government, these men are not strikers, they are revolutionaries, so why speak of them as strikers and why refer to unconstitutional strikes, to revert to clause three?

You will be surprised to learn that there is one class in this country that would accept your proposition with the greatest alacrity, and that is the Bolshevik class, the reds. First of

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all, I will show you why labor will not accept it, secondly, I will show why the capitalist would not even accept it, and thirdly, I will prove that the Bolshevik would delight in it. If I can prove these three propositions to your satisfaction, then perhaps you will be able to convert the misguided genius who introduced your view at your convention. It might prove good policy to ask this individual where he met with this inspiration, confront him with the arguments that follow and ask for a logical explanation.

The proposition is that trades unions would be incorporated, which, of course, would make them amenable to corporation or company laws, the funds of the organizations would be subject to seizure and each individual member would be held responsible, financially. In the famous Danbury Hatters' case, the law was invoked, the organization was broken and scattered to the winds, the individual trades unionist members lost their homes and the savings accumulated by a life-time of work and thrift. We have the more recent actors' strike. When the actors struck under the outrageous conditions which monopolists had prepared for them, the producing companies brought suit for \$750,000 against the individual members. In the case of the Danbury Hatters, the strike was lost and the men and their savings were swallowed up, but in the case of the actors the strike was won and so the suits were dropped.

The objections from the viewpoint of labor are these: it is recognized that the law-making machinery of the nation is in control of the financial powers of the Dominion. The most cursory examination of the laws aiming to protect the sacred rights of property proves this beyond argument. Hundreds of laws could be enumerated which are always made in favor of the creditor as against the debtor. In case of a debt, you may be stripped virtually to the bone, your household furniture is carted away, you are evicted from your

home, and all that you are allowed are a few miserable possessions which will enable you to rest your weary bones, or cook your meal in a single frying pan. That a civilized people would tolerate such laws on the statute books in a Christian country is beyond understanding.

Now, let us suppose that there were differences of opinion between employer and employees which culminated in a strike. The object of the men involved is to secure better wages, or shorter hours, or better working conditions, and the object of the employer is to pay the least possible price for his labor, and to secure the greatest amount of labor for the price paid. The struggle results in loss of money to the employer. His factory is idle, his orders are cancelled, and there is business disruption, but in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand the employer sleeps, eats, smokes his cigar, and his family is comfortable.

Very few strikes have ever bankrupted the establishment involved. As a matter of fact, in the past less than two per cent of the strikes actually called have proved wholly successful from the viewpoint of the men. Then in the case of the striker the situation is quite different. If he has been a very frugal man, and his mate is a very careful housekeeper, he may have saved a few hundred dollars. It is a fact, however, there are few working men who have any reserve fund to draw upon. If the strike is prolonged the reserve fund is speedily consumed. Strike benefits are so small, and the call upon the international treasury is so great, that the funds secured from this source will just avert starvation, and that is all. I have seen strikers obey all the laws, refrain from every violence, suffer the pains of excruciating hunger, sell their household belongings a piece at a time, and stand the torture until their babies began to cry for hunger. I have seen them evicted from their homes, thrown into the streets with their children, and left to starve like abandoned dogs.

This is a picture of the disasters that might be visited upon the contenders in the industrial struggle, and yet you ardently advocate that there should be additional tribulations. The unions must be incorporated so that the employer can bring a civil action for damages for the profits he has lost in the duration of the strike, attack the union funds, and secure judgment against the individual members of the unions that will wrest from the worker everything but the very clothes on his back.

Apart from all this, there is another reason why the unions would not accept this proposition. The average trades union official is a man who has graduated from the ranks after serving years in his trade. He is not a lawyer, and you cannot expect him to be one. Law is such a complicated thing that it takes thousands of men who have devoted all their lives to a study of it to fight the hundreds of thousands of contentions arising out of the contentions that develop under it. The courts are glutted with thousands of legal actions, and nobody knows

who's right and who's wrong until the judge decides, and whenever he happens to come to a conclusion that judgment is promptly set aside, appealed to other courts, where the legal jubilee begins all over again. Imagine labor in the throes of the clutches of legalism, and don't forget that labor realizes that all the skilful, artful, slippery, resourceful high-priced jurists will be ranged on the side of the capitalist, while all the experimenters, the youthful, inexperienced, impecunious post-graduates from the legal factory, will be fighting the battles of labor. The odds against labor are already overwhelming, and we hardly appreciate efforts to increase the burden.

And now the second proposition.

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I stated that upon mature reflection the employer himself would not accept the proposition. If such laws were placed upon the statute books every man who had made a success of his trade and saved a little money, every man with conservative leanings, because he had acquired some of the world's goods, every man in the trades union movement who is an advocate of caution, and careful procedure, would immediately leave the trades union movement, because he would not risk his home and his worldly possessions in a strike, and as a consequence the only members left would be the young, financially irresponsible element, with nothing to lose, as fiery as the flames of hell, as reckless as the hurricane, as wild as the

typhoon, who would defy you and your laws because he has nothing to lose. By all means put this law on the statute books and watch the devil dance. Take the older, the thoughtful, the cautious, conservative trade unionist out of the trades union movement and see what a merry time you will have!

There is one faction that understands it very well, and that is the extreme revolutionist, because he realizes that the fiery gospel would reach the ears that are eternally open for it. The radical would have the field for himself. There would be confusion in industry.

CONCLUSION

The man in overalls is the twin brother of the man in khaki. All working men are poor and ninety-five per cent of the soldiers are poor men or the sons of poor parents. We have the same struggle for existence, the same problems confront us to provide food, clothing and shelter for our children. In the battle of life we will have to go shoulder to shoulder if we are to win. Neither of us can succeed except on the basis of an ordered, prosperous, contented nation of people. There are interests and there are men who would like to sow dissension between us to further their own selfish purposes. We workmen and you soldiers must ever be on guard against such marauders. Your sisters and our brothers court in the same twilights, you and I work on the same bench, and our children will romp in the same grassy lawns, we will meet with clasped hands and the bounties of nature will beflow us. Life will be worth while if you and yours, if me and mine, keep an eye on the mischief makers and kick out the plunderers who for sinister reasons would like to drive a wedge that would divide you and I from the friendship which is ours.

George Pierce.

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THE VOICE OF A MINER

William Hard, in the New Republic, gives what he considers would be the miner's view of the coal troubles, as follows:—

I sometimes imagine one of them coming up out of the earth to stand before the Coal Wages Board and say his little say. I think he would say it, in executive session, all sitting and all comfortable and friendly, more or less to the purport following:

All right. We're sore. Let it go at that. We admit it. We're certainly tired of the way you operators don't run mines.

You think I am going to talk about short work. That's only the beginning. And I'd just like to remind you how you call your strikes.

You don't give any notices. You don't call for any conferences. You simply close your mines right down.

Then you say you haven't any orders. In my mine you didn't have any orders for more than nine or ten days out of eight weeks running last year. No orders. No market.

Well? Whose business is it to get the orders? Do you expect me to fix the market? You own the mines. You're supposed to be running them.

If I ever had an idea in the mine, the foreman says: "Jimmie, I'm hired to have the brains. You've got the chance to do what I say."

When we had those committees during the war, there was two of us fellows off one day. Too much booze. Yes, that's true, Mr. Smith, thank you for reminding me: I did once see one of your coal operators take a drink. Well, the mine-boss says: "We'll just mark those two fellows down on the paper for decreasing production by being off drunk." "All right," says our fellows,

"and we'll just mark down the seven fellows that's been off for three days because you've got gas in their part of the mine." "You will?" says the boss. "You will not. Do you want to get me in wrong with the mine inspector? You will not." I ask you: is a fellow going to offer suggestions that ain't wanted to a fellow that can fire him?

Most of the suggestions that would improve your mines and the mining business might be good for us and good for the public but they might be rotten for you and you won't ever want them.

Because look:

When you strike against us and close your mines down and leave us without any work except for a couple of days in the week or a few days in a month for months, like you did last year, what happens?

Do you take the work there is and the orders you can get and share it up fair between yourselves and between us? You know damn well you don't.

Right in the same seam where I I work there's another mine that was working almost steady when there was no work for me. That mine's got a salesman. He's a smooth talker. The coal's the same. It's the same lay of coal. But because he's a good salesman he gets all the orders and I get no work at all and my wife and children's up against it. We don't call that sense.

But anyway I go and work in some mine perhaps that's got some orders, after a while. And a lot of other fellows has gone there too. And you take us all on; because you want to make a good showing for arguing to get coal-cars from the railroad. And then you haven't enough cars in the mine for all of us. And then you haven't enough cars in the mine for us. And we hang around for a couple of hours at a time, waiting for those cars and earning nothing, right along. You can't keep the work smooth and even and fair between us from one district to another or from one time of the year to another or from one mine to another or even in the same mine. You're always making us lie around and lay off.

And then you have the nerve to get sore about it. We lay off any time. That's what you say. Now let me get sore some.

Do you know that next Thursday your job's yours? You do. It's right there waiting for you, and you're expected. But what do I know about next Tuesday or any other day?

A fellow says to me "Let's go hunting next Saturday." And perhaps I say "Well, it's a chance I lose a day's work. But it's just as good a chance there won't be no work that day. I'll take a chance." Perhaps.

And on Thursday perhaps it's cold. You fellows don't understand.

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They have one rule that applies to all their baking

Can you guess it?

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You've got the habit of going to work Thursday mornings. Where would I get it from? And let me tell you. When you lie in bed and think of a mine you don't just naturally leap out and yell "Lead me to it." You need to be pushed.

That's where the habit comes in. I've talked with other fellows. Some of them has worked in other places, like cotton mills. It's one thing when every time the wife shakes you in the morning it means beat it to work where the work is. It's another thing when it means the work is there or isn't. Perhaps. You get restless, perhaps. It's perhaps all the time in this mining, and you fellows get it the same way we do.

Why right now I'll say some of you operators right here is filling contracts and no profit. You say you do. We know you do. But why do you?

You'll say you wanted coal cars from the railroad, and the railroad was willing to buy some coal from you cheap, and you thought perhaps you might get some other contracts, and then you thought perhaps you wouldn't be able to get them, and you got a pain in your head guessing, and here was the railroad offering to buy, and you thought per-

haps if you let the railroad have the coal, why, the railroad would kindly switch you some cars to fill your other contracts, if you get them perhaps, and so you let the railroad have that low contract, and it was worse than you thought, and now you're losing money perhaps.

Say! You fellows claim to be bosses of the business. You claim to be bosses of one of the great big businesses of the country, and you can't make your customers come across and hand in their orders regular so you can work your mines regular and you can't keep the railroads from soaking you all the time. You can't play even between us miners and you can't play even between the railroads and your other customers. You get part of the miners working and part not working, part of the business fat and part in the hole, part of the customers paying too little and part paying too much. We never know where we are, and the best you can say for yourselves is that you never know where you are.

We've begun to think this out. What is this nationalization? I don't know much about it but I calculate it means if you fellows don't start something pretty quick we will. We



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don't object to bosses. Say! We'd like to have some. And they've got to be some fellows who can keep the whole thing going all together right and fair for everybody.

We come along to you and say the cost of living's gone up and ask for a raise. You say "This mine's broke." We say "Is that mine over there broke?" You say "Oh no. But that's a low-cost mine. They can dig coal cheap. In this mine it costs a lot to dig coal. It's a high-cost mine." That lets you out. That's what you think.

We think: "Great system! No end of coal in low-cost mines, and all sorts of coal being dug in high-cost mines! Why not take it out of the low-cost mines? Why all these high-cost mines?" Anyway, we go to the low-cost fellow.

We say to him: "Got to have a raise." "Oh, no," says he. "I'll tell you how we do it. It may be I'm making money. But look at that other fellow in that high-cost mine. He's losing money. Now what we do is this: we average up what I'm making and what he's losing, and that's the average of the industry, and it's pretty close to nothing, and you don't get a raise."

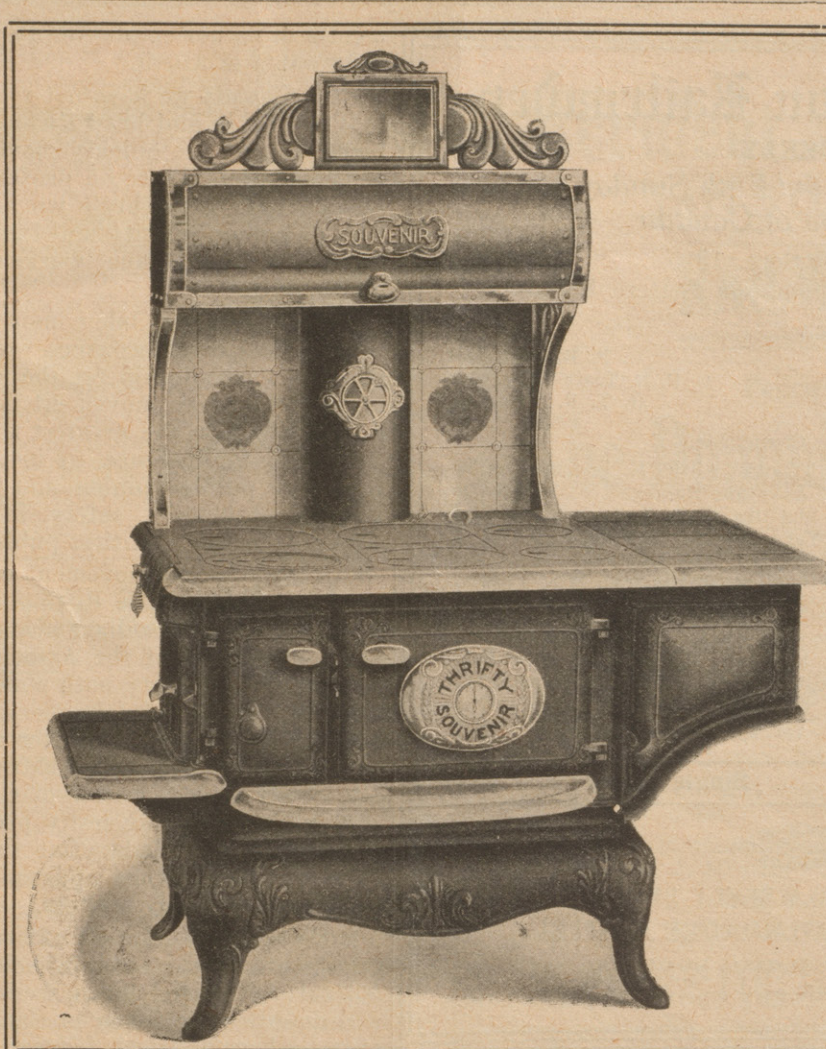
Then we say: "This is all bunk. Stop taking coal out where it ain't profitable. Stop doing all these things that ain't profitable. Get together and produce so much coal and produce it where it's cheapest and make people take it regular when it's produced and at regular prices for everybody. Get together. Make it one real business."

And you say: "Get together? We want to get together. But the Government won't let us. You're right. We ought to. But the public won't let us."

Well, that's not our fault. We ain't running the coal business. You're the bosses. You admit the business is wrong now. We've heard you telling Congress how wrong it is. And you admit the only way to cure it is to get together. Somebody's got to get together. You say the public won't let you do it your way. Well. What next? Where do we go from here? Can you think of anything?

I'll tell you what I think. We've declared for nationalization. The public won't stand for private trusts. Nationalization — the way I look at it — is get together and a public trust. You know you've got to have the get together. The coal business can't go on being crazy. We won't stand for it. You've got to have the get together. Well, go ahead and hope out some new way of making it public that takes you in, if you can. I'll say you've got to fix it so I don't get stung all the time by something I've got nothing to do with.

Look how it is now. Somebody makes a good sale, for somebody else, and I'm out of work. Somebody gets to know somebody and switches a contract, and I'm out of work. Somebody holds off buying coal till he can get it cheaper than its cost, and I'm out of work. Somebody decides



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to go and buy coal three hundred miles away because he's got a chance to buy into the mine and make the railroads carry the coal across a few more states, and I'm out of work. Somebody, and a lot of 'em, just about the time the cost of living's going up, goes and bids too low on a lot of contracts, and I can't get a raise.

I'm tired of being kicked around by somebody I can't see and ain't got no right to mention it to. I'm tired of being the goat in a game I ain't playing.

I guess that's all. I like to figure these things out. I've thought about them. I guess that's all.

I think that would be about all.

It will still be there when wages are raised by no matter what per cent and when hours are shortened to no matter what shortness. It will still be there. What is it? It is the bituminous coal industry of America conducted as a sport of owners.

Out of the mouths of miners comes the radical cry that somehow—somehow — it has to be conducted as a science.

IF HE PRESSED THEM PROPERLY.

"Oh, well!" said the Old Fogey. "Clothes do not make the man!" "Don't you believe it!" responded the Grouch. "Suits have made many a lawyer." — "Cincinnati Enquirer".

BEING A LADY

A twelve-year-old girl from the slums of New York was invited to a garden party given by an aristocratic lady to a group of poor girls. The little girl, as she drank her tea and ate her cake on a velvet lawn under a white blooming cherry tree, said to her hostess:

"Does your husband drink?" "Why—er—no", was the astonished reply.

"How much he make?"

"He doesn't work", said the lady. "He is an capitalist".

"You keep out of debt, I hope?"

"Of course, child. What on earth—"

"Your color looks natural—I trust you don't paint".

"Why, child!" exclaimed the a-

emazed hostess, "what do you mean by such questions? Don't you know they are impudent?"

"Impudent?" said the little girl, "Why, ma'am mother told me to be sure and behave like a lady, and when ladies call at our rooms they always ask mother those questions!"

HARD WORDS FOR AN EGG

"When I rose to speak", related a martyred statesman, "some one threw a base, cowardly egg at me. It struck me on the chest".

"And what is a base, cowardly egg?" asked a fresh young man.

"A base, cowardly egg", explained the statesman, "is one that hits you and runs.—London Tit-Bits.

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Another Step In Britain

THE British Labor Party is now campaigning to bring more professional, technical and supervisory workers within its ranks, and to form a national federation of them. A meeting of representatives of some of the organized elements of these "middle class" or "salaried" persons is being held in London to-day under the auspices of the party. This is the product of an alliance between brawn and brain workers which has been becoming more and more pronounced in Britain during the past ten years. At present there are at least three times as many British professional and other white collar workers definitely within the organized labor movement than there are professional and other white collar workers in the whole of Canada, and the step from economic unity to political unity is generally short and easily taken. Although the newspaper cables do not say so, it can reasonably be assumed that the meeting in London to-day is mainly of representatives of unionized brain workers — of bank, railway and other office clerks, of draughtsmen, actors, foremen, colliery managers, journalists, school teachers, commercial travelers, and so on.

It is conveyed in such reports as have come to this side that the Labor Party seeks this alliance because it needs votes and brains. As a fact, probably it already has the votes of most of the brain workers it now seeks to federate, as witness results of parliamentary and municipal elections, notably in the last two years. The aim is, rather, to have declared allegiance and definite political organization, with, too, of course, the hope that these will also lead to added voting strength. As for the need of brains, the labor movement's need is not half as serious as that of the other parties and the remaining "classes". Most of the best brains of the Kingdom, those of both hand and head workers, are in the labor movement now. Some brain workers may, possibly, have a fancy that they would be the salvation of the labor movement if they joined up with it, or can keep it on a lower plane by staying out of it, but that is only

a form of rather empty vanity which the labor movement knows for what it is worth.

In Canada we have not reached the British stage of alliance between brain and brawn workers in the organized labor movement, but we are quickly moving towards it, primarily because of economic pressure on professional or "salaried" classes, but also because of the brain worker's awakening to the real meanings of human dignity and human brotherhood, in which meanings the simple manual worker was the original expert, despite his limitations.

The Canadian labor movement to-day is a movement of manual and brain workers working together with a very fine spirit of comradeship for the advancement of all workers. So far our Canadian movement is largely an economic one, but it is probably also the greatest social welfare agency in the country—note, for instance, its inspiration and struggle towards influencing public opinion and framing laws in the matters of housing, education, safety in industry, child labor, mothers' pensions, public utilities, public health.

As a political movement of hand and brain workers it has begun to move. The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association itself is the nearest Canadian likeness to the British Labor Party. The membership of the Association is, of course, largely made up of trade unionists, both manual and brain workers, but many brain workers are in the membership who are not trade unionists. In, of course, a smaller and much younger way than the British Labor Party, the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association is completely representative of Canadian workers of all sorts and conditions, from university professors to ditch-diggers, so it is time, even in Canada, that the terms "labor movement" and "the workers" were approached a little more cautiously in definition by many writers.

Economic federation of brain workers is not far off on this Continent. Steps are now being taken in the United States to federate unionized brain workers, and before long such steps will doubtless be taken in Canada. It might be unsafe to prophesy when political federation of hand and brain workers will come here, but it will come, and perhaps more suddenly and surprisingly than the old-line political experts would anticipate in their gloomiest moments.

K. C.

Words, Words, Words

BRETHREN, the Montreal Gazette solves the world unrest. Stand back there and don't shuffle your feet, you common louts, but listen humbly, respectfully, and as intelligently as possible, to your guide, philosopher and friend telling you, out of the purity of its own soul and its great vision of a beautiful humanity, what this old globe needs in its time of stress and travail. Hush! 'Tis the voice of the Gazette:—

"The root causes of the world unrest which is so unsettling and gives grave concern to constituted authority everywhere are found in the disintegration of economic laws, due to the unparalleled struggle in Europe; the impaired respect for human life, inspired by the unceasing hecatombs which the war demanded for four years; the dethronement of the high sanctions which kept society together; and, above all, for the non-fulfilment of the large desires engendered by alluring word pictures of a new and better and more enticing world, which did not materialize for the asking.

"Governments have used, now, verbal persuasives, and, again, machine guns. They have tried to find the root cause of the dangerous outbreaks in big centres; they have appointed experts; they have passed laws; but, though certain classes have big wads of money, which are ostentatiously displayed in the bulking forms in which they can be best visualized, the happy world of the hectic dreams of the workers and the fighters in the war have not been realized.

"And this is the trouble—that human selfishness is still so regnant in the world that the large and godlike sense of justice has still to be enthroned in the laws of the nations.

"Humanity demands a new relation in the conduct of its affairs.

"It demands the extinction of animosity between capital and labor.

"Apply the spirit—not of cold mathematics, or of the law of supply and demand, but of magnanimous justice, or cordial love in human relations and the difficulties will vanish like mist before the sun."

Fine is this message, this solution, of the last four paragraphs. It is not new. The Gazette cannot copyright it at the

Department of Agriculture. It is as old as Christianity. Tens of millions of tongues have spoken it across two thousand years. Trillions of words have been printed about it. Every cleric in Montreal will give it to his congregation to-morrow.

Still there is unrest, more than ever. Why is this thus? What's the trouble? Why do not you common persons do what the Gazette says? Why sneer, my friends; why shuffle your feet? Why so impatient, with bricks hidden up your sleeves?

Because cold experience teaches you that many people (including a proportion of editorial writers) do not practice what they preach; otherwise the obvious ills of the social order would have been removed generations ago. Because the Gazette's fine editorial message is given the lie in its other editorial messages. Because, if the original propounder of the message were to walk into the Gazette office to discuss the application of the message, He would probably be measured as a dangerous agitator or a poor idiot, to be hustled to No. 1 Police Station or sent to some hospital for the insane.

K. C.

Getting at the Landlord

MORE than a thousand Jersey City tenants organized a "rent strike" on February 2nd., and the city law department will defend the strikers without cost. Strikes of the sort have brought beneficial results to tenants before, and the probability is that the Jersey City affair will win its objective. Rack-rented tenants do a lot of howling up here in Montreal, but that isn't much good.

It is an axiom of politics as we know it that a thing without fighting power need not be heeded, and that a thing of expressed or potential power must be heeded; that the great merit of a thing alone cuts little ice, but that even a thing of small merit, or perhaps no merit at all, if it has power standing around somewhere, able to swing in a punch in the ribs, if necessary, cuts a whole season's supply. I do not know whether this axiom is to be found in any printed guides to politicians; it was not in any of the guides I have read, and which I hope I have forgotten; I am sure that it should have been in big type across the first page of all of them, for it is an obvious truth, if a rude and unpleasant one.

The same axiom amongst employers of labor led to the invention and the development of the strike weapon on the part of employees. It is folly, it is discreditable, but it is true, that many employers were never good until they were licked good, with the only power their employees could raise against the power that oppressed them. Heaven help the workers of the civilized world if they had always had to depend only on polite petitions and good arguments to obtain social justice.

This wonderful axiom is an axiom of a good deal of landlordism. Your landlord may jack up your rent a hundred and fifty per cent — the Gazette is authority that such jacking up took place in Montreal a few days ago — and you know that you are in the hands of a robber who has the ordinary highway variety backed off the map as a piker. You cannot jail him as you would the ordinary highway robber. You cannot hurt his feelings or remodel his conscience by spilling a lot of language in letters to the editor or in protest meetings. You and ten thousand others like you can do nothing but fret and fume — and deliver. Until you show power! Until you hit the greedy landlord where he feels it, in the greed-basket. Organization on definite lines is the beginning of power. Unity of advance to a definite objective at the weakest point of the enemy's ramparts is the way to victory. And when you are about it, make him cut out this yearly lease business, do a little repairing and give you a can of paint for the kitchen.

K. C.

THE regular meeting of the executive board of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association will be held at 60 Dandurand Building, at eight o'clock on Tuesday evening, Feb. 10th., instead of on Monday evening as previously arranged.

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British Plans for Labor Conciliation

Industrial Courts Act Designed to
Fit in With Existing Arbitra-
tion Methods for Bringing Em-
ployers and Men Together

(Christian Science Monitor)

LONDON, — It is now possible to fill in the details as to how the Industrial Courts Act will fit into the arrangements which already exist for dealing with the demands of employers and their workpeople and their efforts to avoid open rupture until every avenue of negotiation has been searched. Since the armistice, wages questions and trade disputes have revealed three main points which strongly call for correction, all of which it is the intention of the promoters of the Industrial Courts Act to remedy by that measure.

The first point emphasizes the fact that the object of the Wages (Temporary) Regulation Acts of 1918 and 1919 has failed to affect a number of trades.

In the second place, the need for a permanent arbitration tribunal, on the lines proposed in a previous article in The Christian Science Monitor, for supplementing existing conciliation machinery, such as might arise under the Whitley Council schemes, for instance, has been increasingly felt as the result of the experience gained. The temper of the community who found itself unable to go on and from business was not softened upon being informed that discussions had been going on for nearly a year.

Public Demands Publicity

Thirdly, it has been made abundantly clear that the public wants to know all there is to know of the merits or demerits of a dispute during the whole process of negotiation, before a rupture occurs and not as present only when open rupture has resulted in the men walking the streets. Public opinion expressed its indignation in no uncertain manner during the railway strike at the way in which the negotiations had been carried which that act offered, but there are others, possibly because of lack of organization, for whom much can still be done in formulating arrangements for establishing wages on a permanent basis.

Arising out of the first point, although the main features of the Wages (Temporary) Regulations Acts are retained, important modifications have been introduced. Provision is made for the payment by employers of not less than the prescribed rates of wages to particular classes of workpeople in

particular districts, or, alternately, rates which have been substituted for those prescribed by an award of the Interim Court of Arbitration, an agreement or settlement approved by the Minister of Labor, or an order issued by the Minister extending the scope of an award. These rates still have statutory sanction, and the local munitions tribunals still have judicial power to enforce them.

Non-Federated Employers

It will be seen that this provision is retained as a levelling up process, to give the trades which have not yet established their prescribed rates an opportunity for recovering lost ground. But the question of new rates, higher prescribed rates, becomes, as in the past, a matter for negotiation between employers and the unions. Neither side can force the other into arbitration, and in the event of both sides agreeing to submit their difference to the Industrial Court, the decision of that body depends entirely upon a moral obligation for acceptance. At first glance this looks uncommonly like the procedure that has worked out so well during the last few years.

But there is this difference. It is safe to assume that two sides having agreed to arbitration they will loyally accept the verdict. Generally speaking this would mean a trade union or a federation of trade unions on the one hand, and

employers federation on the other. Now all the federated employers will, say if the award grants an increase, pay out accordingly. But the non-federated employers, generally speaking, will refuse to accept an award on the ground that they were not parties to the application.

What this means to the trade unions will be gathered from the fact that out of over 1100 engineering firms in the London district, not more than 60 are affiliated to the London and District Association of Engineering Employers, which means that the trade unions are put to no end of trouble, worry, and inconvenience in getting the remainder to adopt the new rates or changed conditions.

Composition of Court

Before the passing of the Industrial Courts Act modified the policy embodied in the Wages Regulations Act, an award by the Interim Court of Arbitration operated automatically among federated and non-federated employers alike on a given date. The new Industrial Court will, therefore, after the temporary need for the stabilization of wages has ceased exist exclusively as a permanent supplement to the existent machinery for conciliation and arbitration. Reference to it can only be made with the consent of both parties and after the ordinary normal channels of negotiation and discussion have failed to

secure a settlement.

The composition of the court itself has already been settled, although it may be augmented later in accordance with a pledge given to J. R. Clynes in the House of Commons that a representative of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers should also be appointed. There is a chairman, two representatives of employers and two representatives of Labor, the two last named being a former general secretary of the Boilermakers Society and a member of the executive council of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. In addition there is to be a panel of employers and trade union representatives covering practically the whole of the country's industrial activity, from among whom the workers on the one hand and the employers on the other can select a representative.

Provides Many Avenues

Again, the parties to the arbitration can decide whether the case shall be heard by the two gentlemen drawn from the panel sitting under an independent chairman, or whether they shall sit as assessors with the members of the Arbitration Court itself. The arrangement appears to be a free and easy method and should be successful, for it has all the elements of success, in addition to a wide selection of assessors, a number of methods as to how the court should be constituted.

There remains the third point, which gives to the Minister of Labor power to investigate the matters in dispute, with a view to placing before the members of both house of Parliament the necessary information upon which judgment can be formed in those cases not submitted to arbitration. In such cases the minister need not wait until a strike actually exist, but is free to take action where a strike is apprehended. A court can be set up without the consent of either parties, but the court has the power to summon both sides to give evidence. As the function of the court is one of simple inquiry for the purpose of publicity, it can issue a report, but it cannot give an award. It can, however, express an opinion on the merits of a dispute, it can emphasize the aggravating features, thereby giving the general public a better opportunity for forming judgment than it has ever had before.

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Rules for Solving Social Problems

Former Chief Justice of Australia Formulates Certain Propositions for Guidance in Conduct of Industrial Affairs of State.

The Right Honorable Sir Samuel Griffith, G. C. M. G., who recently announced his intention of retiring from the post of chief of the High Court Bench, stated at the same time that he hoped to contribute through the press to the discussion of the great social problems, which are today demanding the consideration of thinking people all the world over. Sir Samuel, it should be recalled, has rendered valuable services to Australia as Lieutenant-Governor and Premier of Queensland and as an eminent federalist.

In the first of the promised articles, as recorded in the Sun of Melbourne, Sir Samuel declared: "Some 30 years ago it occurred to me to try to express in the form of legislation certain propositions which appeared to me to be almost self-evident, and which would, if adopted, afford rules for guidance in the conduct of the industrial affairs of the State. My idea was that if these doctrines were so assimilated by the people that they acknowledged their truth and unconsciously believed them, they would form an unconscious basis of right and wrong. Rules of honor, rules of family relationship, are unconsciously accepted as part of the order of nature by many, though unfortunately not all, of the existing so called civilized community. But I anticipated too much from the effect of the mere formulation of the rules; moreover, I had no opportunity in political life of giving effect to them, or even publicly advocating them.

Some Doctrines Fundamental

"Yet it is manifest that some doctrines must be fundamental, and must be the foundation of any theory of government. These doctrines, however, touched only a small fringe of the subject. I shall endeavor now to supplement them by other doctrines equally self-apparent and equally necessary for acceptance. To procure such acceptance is a work beyond my individual power; I can only offer a contribution.

"Among such propositions which I put on the same basis are the following, of which those relating to

the management and control of property follow as a necessary corollary upon the nature of the association of persons in a civilized community:

"1. The application of human energy to a physical object with the view of production is called 'labor'. The term 'labor' includes all forms of body. It therefore includes the function of supervision or organization of other labor.

Definition of Property

"2. The term 'property' includes all forms of material things in the possession of man, which have a value for the purpose of exchange or use. It also includes inventions and other immaterial results of the exercise of the faculties of the mind.

"3. In civilized communities the ownership of property includes a right to the owner to dispose of it in his lifetime. Such ownership is also usually accompanied by rules as to its disposition after his death.

"4. The term 'production' includes any act or series of acts by which labor is applied, either directly or indirectly, to property, and the result of which is new property in an altered form, or in a different place. It also includes any exercise of the faculties of the mind or body, the result of which is property, although the exercise of those faculties is not directly applied to property.

Productive Labor

"5. The term 'productive labor' means labor applied for the purpose of producing some property which is or is intended to be, of greater value than the value of the property (if any) to which the labor is applied.

"6. The terms 'net products of labor', and 'net products', mean the net increase in the value of property resulting from productive labor, after allowing for the cost of production.

"7. When human energy is exerted otherwise than for the purpose of production it is called non-productive labor.

"8. The remuneration of non-

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productive labor is the subject of mutual agreement.

"9. When property is applied for the purpose of rendering services by way of transport of persons or things the value of such transport is regarded as a product of the operation by which it is effected.

Wages the Reward of Labor

"10. The immediate and provisional reward of labor is called wages.

"11. The natural and proper measure of wages is such a sum as is a fair immediate recompense for the labor for which they are paid, having regard to its character and duration; but it can never be taken as a sum less than enough to maintain the laborer and his family in a state of health and reasonable comfort.

"12. When labor is applied to a movable physical object in the lawful possession of the laborer, the products of his labor, after making due provision for the necessary food and clothing for himself and his dependents, belong to him.

"13. When labor is applied to land not having any owner, the result of that labor may be the acquisition by the laborer of possession of the land for himself. Land so acquired belongs to the laborer.

Division of Net Products of Labor

"14. When net products of labor belong to the persons who are concerned in the production. If one person only is concerned in the production, the whole net products belong to him. If more persons than one are concerned in the production, the net products belong to them, in proportion to the value of their respective contributions to the production.

"15. When labor is not applied directly or indirectly to property, the whole products belong to the laborer. When labor is applied directly or indirectly to property the person who is lawfully entitled to the use of that property is deemed to be concerned in the production, as well as the laborer.

"16. All kinds of property originate in one or other of the ways above described.

"17. When the net products of labor in the absence of agreement, claim to have a share determined by a tribunal appointed by the State.

"18. The control of the operations of labor is vested in the persons jointly engaged in it. Such control is to be exercised in the case of each enterprise by representatives of the persons so engaged. In the absence of agreement the number of the representatives and the manner of their choice are to be determined by a tribunal appointed by the community. In the event of agreement amongst the representatives the matter in difference is to be determined by a similar tribunal.

"19. Any person whose personal labor can be employed for the benefit of the community and is not so employed may be required to employ it for that purpose in some industry of his own choice, and, if he fails so to do, to place, his services at the disposal of the community on just terms.

Control of Necessities

"20. Any person who had control of any material thing which can be used for the benefit of the community and is not so used, may be required to make it available for such use, and if he fails so to do, to place it at the disposal of the community on just terms.

"21. The terms on which any person is to be required to place his personal labor or the property of which he has control at the disposal of the community are to be determined by the community.

"22. Producers may demand in exchange for the products of their labor such a price as will afford a reasonable profit over and above the cost of production, and are bound to make it available for use at that price. In determining what is a reasonable profit regard is to be had to the interests of persons desirous to use the product. It is the duty of the community to enforce this rule by appropriate laws".

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"Pa, how much money did Croesus have?"

"Oh, I don't know. About enough to live in what is at present middle-class style, I guess". —"Boston Transcript".

WHERE KNOWLEDGE ENDED.

Biggs "What do you usually eat in this restaurant?"

Higgs — "Don't ask me; ask the cook. I simply order from the menu". —"London Tit-Bits."

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ST. JOHN, N. B.

Our OTTAWA LETTER

Mr. A. K. Maclean, a modest and retiring man if ever there was one, now occupies the centre of the political stage at Ottawa. He is surrounded by all the atmosphere and circumstances of a royal princess on a sick bed. The state of his political health is made known to the public by daily bulletins. Inquiries flow in from every corner of the land as to what are the prospects of his survival as a Minister. All manner of prescriptions and soothing ointments are offered him. Distinguished physicians from his own city of Halifax, disguised as contractors and merchants, are summoned to tender their opinion on the case and encourage the sufferer to be of good heart.

The reason for all this stir and anxiety is that if Mr. MacLean's demise from the cabinet were to take place, that great tract of country lying between Montreal and the Atlantic Ocean would be without a single representative in the Cabinet. It is not pleasant to contemplate the language of the voters of an area which since Confederation has sent to Ottawa from its constituencies Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Robert Borden, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir John Thompson, Mr. A. G. Blair and a host of minor Cabinet constellations, when they realize how utterly bereft and abandoned they are. Such treatment is almost sufficient excuse for an agitation for secession.

Mr. MacLean has now gone to New York, probably for purposes of quiet contemplation upon his dilemma. Meanwhile one of the real ailments which have lately been afflicting him has been revealed. He is not, it transpires, a legitimate Cabinet minister but was born on the wrong side of the political blanket. He had come into the Union Government in 1917, to represent Nova Scotia Liberalism, but took so long to make up his mind, that all the portfolios had been pre-empted — ere he arrived. Millionaires like the late Mr. Frank Cochrane and Sir Edward Kemp can afford to be Ministers without portfolios and therefore without salaries, but Mr. Maclean was not in that happy position. There being no statutory salary available for him, an ingenious device was resorted to. He was appointed Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Reconstruction and Development, both, like Mesopotamia, blessed words. It was a sonorous title and there was no reason why the man who held it should not be voted out of the War Appropriation Fund a salary equal to that of an ordinary Cabinet Minister. This was accordingly done and Mr. Maclean was happy and contented. His Reconstruction and Development Committee never met, it is true, but it had served its purposes and why bother about it?

But now the question has arisen whether, now that peace has officially come to pass, Mr. Maclean can be henceforth paid a salary out of the War Appropriation Fund. It might be possible but it would present an opening to a querulous opposition. Now if Mr. Maclean were to legitimate himself and accept the Department of Public Works which is a statutory "office of profit under the Crown" he would have to submit himself immediately for re-election at Halifax. The commercial and contracting magnates of that city, not to mention the shipping fraternity, now that they are deprived of the Premier's tender care, are keenly anxious that the expenditure on public works which has been liberally bestowed on Halifax for the last ten years should not come to a summary end. The best form of insurance against such a disaster would be to have one of their members minister of Public Works; it would be as good as a Lloyd's policy and therefore a showy deputation of distinguished Haligonians, drawn from both the Liberal and Tory folds, paid a visit to Mr. Maclean at Ottawa last week to tell him that there was a tide in the affairs of himself and Halifax, principally Halifax, which if taken at the flood, ought to lead to his easy re-election and a steady stream of additional public works for a much deserving community. In other words they exhorted him with considerable fervor to become a full fledged Cabinet Minister and they would look after the by-election.

Among this deputation were certain zealous Liberals who on the occasion of Mr. King's recent tour, adorned his platform, applauded his denunciation of the Coalition Gov-

ernment and vowed with their hands on their hearts that they would assist him to cleanse the Augean stable at Ottawa. Today these public spirited citizens have probably not changed their opinion of the Coalition but the prospect of some local advantages and some contract plunder makes them at once disposed to forget the wider national interest

for their own private ends and assist in perpetuating a regime which they know to be hopeless. Time was when they could be reasonably sure of guaranteeing the re-election of a Minister but the democracy is slowly awakening to realities and the task of delivering a large body of votes is far from easy nowadays. The farmers, the trades unionists and the salaried middle classes are ceasing to regard the vote as a pleasant ceremonial function at which they cancelled one another's votes and at the best only secured the election of some friend or favorite.

Mr. Maclean himself on his return next week must make the fateful choice. He is not without some shrewdness and is probably not at all confident that a liberal dose of public works will purge Halifax of its distaste for Union Government.

The Toronto Globe expresses a common desire when it states that it would like to see more "active" and fewer "acting" Ministers at Ottawa. The Government of Canada presents an even less inspiring spectacle than the administration which men of all classes and political creeds are now uniting to denounce in Britain. There a member of the Cabinet, the Lord Chancellor, better known as F. E. Smith recently wrote a very frank letter to the Weekly Dispatch — it horrified people of the old school to find an English

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ous Sunday paper. In it he described the Coalition of which he is a member as an "invertebrate and undefined body" and the phrase could be applied without changing a syllable to our worthy rulers at Ottawa. In the course of this same letter the Lord Chancellor declared that the British Coalition must commit suicide and be replaced by a definite "National" party which would provide the defenders of the old order of things with a decent instrument for fighting Labor whose power has been revealed by recent elections.

Now it seems clear that the great mind of Mr. J. A. Calder is filled with a parallel design to Lord Birkhead's. He is the chosen heir to Sir Robert Borden's pet project of transforming the Coalition into a permanent party, to be called "Unionist" or "National" which will be able to offer an effective re-advanced to the electorate. It seems the farmers' and labor parties have advanced to the electorate. It seems now to be recognized that in the absence of the official skipper, while Sir George Foster may sit in the captain's cabin and study the charts, Mr. Calder will be the man on the bridge in charge of the ship's course.

The session is now within measurable distance and in a few weeks, the early birds will be dropping into Ottawa to spy out the land. Of course, most of the session will be consumed in political intrigue, but still some legislation will be passed.

There is now a recovery in the prospects of the Franchise Bill. It may be that the Cabinet have reached the conclusion that an election this year is unavoidable, but semi-official hints as the terms of the measure are being thrown out. In the main, it will follow the lines of the Bye-Elections Act which was passed last session and was acceptable to the Liberals. Naturalised enemy aliens will be allowed to vote so long as the naturalisation is personal, but the wives, sons and daughters of such aliens would be

barred, unless a judge gives them a certificate that they are eligible for personal naturalisation. Thanks to the timely bill of Mr. Jacobs, the scandal of dual representation will have come to an end.

The fiercest and possibly the only serious fight will rage round the retention of the system of Federal enumerators which the Government liked so well and the Liberals found so iniquitous. Constitutionally the provinces should have the right of each controlling their own federal franchise. The Tory governments of the Macdonald era insisted upon Federal lists but even Sir John Thompson admitted them to be unfair and the Liberals on coming to power restored the provincial rights which held good up to 1917. The main argument to be advanced for a uniform federal list made by enumerators will be that Quebec has not given votes to women in provincial elections and special federal lists will be necessary to enable the women of Quebec to vote for the Ottawa Parliament. The enumerator system puts very great power in the hands of the party in office and would be a deadly weapon in the hands of Mr. Calder and his minions.

The merits of proportional representation are still being canvassed and what really has to be settled before any innovations are encouraged is whether from the point of view of the "interests", farmer or labor M. P.s are the less desirable. It is certain that whether P. R. is inserted in the bill or not, some of its advocates will advance it by way of amendment.

J. A. Stevenson.

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Scott Nearing On Economic Forces

SCOTT NEARING, Socialist, social welfare publicist, professor of economics at the University of Pennsylvania until he split the economic beans, near-jailbird as a conscientious objector to military service, does not look the part of the zealot as the zealot is popularly pictured. He is apparently about thirty-five years of age, is a little over average height and well-built. He dresses and grooms plainly. He looks like an ordinary, sedate, sincere, clean-cut young business man, with a good deal of self-confidence, but without platform or parlor tricks. It would be easy to imagine him, from appearance, as a sales manager or a credit man for a large wholesale house, dictating dozens of letters a day beginning with: "Dear sir — Re yours of even date. would say...". He speaks like the school teacher and student that he is, and as if he were handling a class of pupils. Only occasionally does he get beyond the pedagogic air, shutting his fists and getting near to a show of emotion, hinting, perhaps, that a good deal of emotion and determination lies bottled up somewhere. A Scot might easily mistake him for the brither Scot which he is not; whether that is a compliment or a denunciation depends upon your particular prejudices. I would have liked to talk to him leisurely across a fireplace, or even across the front of a kitchen stove, and I am sure I would have learnt something. As it happened, I was jammed through a ring of admirers paying court to him, and our conversation was limited to conventional greetings.

The night I saw him he was in Prince Arthur Hall, where he spoke on "Economic Determinism". The hall, a tawdry but comfortable little place in the middle of the Ghetto, was filled with about 300 persons, a sort of quiltwork audience with a Jewish background, a Keltic fringe and Anglo-Saxon dots. In the gathering were plenty of the so-called Belsheviks, with a smattering of "intellectuals" strayed to the frowzy east-end from their more familiar west-end, and a contingent of social welfare workers interested in Nearing as a welfarist and economist in a general sense rather than as a special pleader for Marxian theories.

Mr. Nearing was introduced by a young Jewish chairwoman, who conveyed that most of the friends of democracy were in jail, and that, although we had not quite reached the stage in Montreal of putting the democrats under lock and key, she was hopeful. Mr. Nearing she introduced as "Comrade Nearing", who, by some strange misarrangement of "justice", was still at liberty. He had, however, come very close to lying behind prison walls, and, as it was,

quite a number of "free" American cities had injunctioned him from speaking therein.

"At the present time, we have an economic plutocracy, the rule of the rich because they own the wealth, and the time has come when the people must take into their own hands the economic problems of life exactly as once they took into their own hands the political problems of life." This statement was the keynote of the address, which was more in the nature of an academic lecture on political economy in relation to present-day problems than a political harangue.

"If we had as clear an idea about economics as we have about locomotion, for example, we would have had most stupendous changes in society already", declared Mr. Nearing. In human society there were three great stages in the struggle for life that underlay all economic problems. The first stage was that of the human being taking from nature just what Nature offered, as seen in the life of savages. The second was that in which men took Nature and manipulated her, and the third is the present stage, of the struggle for the division of what was gained. The speaker emphasized the need that still exists for preserving productive processes, for the turning of the wheels whether under a capitalist or a socialist order; but taking productivity for granted, then the question arose as to the distribution.

The dense ignorance that exists on all economic matters, equally among rich and poor, was commented upon by Nearing, who suggested that the French proverb "Cherchez la Femme" might be given a parallel so that one would look for economic forces in all human affairs, when there was any new trouble. How economic forces had acted and reacted upon the nations, he proceeded to show by tracing the rise of industrialism in Great Britain, which country, owing to the establishment of the cotton industry had had the start of two generations in that type of life. Further, it had been the cause of Britain getting the lead over France in the wars of that period. European history could be taken at any point and there would be seen cropping up always economic forces. Similarly on this continent those forces had operated in the slavery struggle. Illustrating this phase of history, the speaker was describing how slave ship owners could make \$35,000 or more on a single trip, when there came a voice from the hall: "You can do better now." "There may be something in that," was the rejoinder.

That this same operation of

economic forces was also seen in individual lives was the next argument, the speaker depicting the miners in the soft coal fields of Pennsylvania and the workers in Henry Ford's factory, at Detroit, as all being driven to work by the need for food, and he contrasted this with the Palm Beach habitues, though he declared that the latter were equally the victims of economic forces. Then there was the middle class, of which the speaker gave as types the minister compelled to preach according to the wishes of his board members, and the lawyer, having to fall in with the business interests of his entourage.

"Does this mean lying down and admitting that it was all Allah's will? No, the proposition is to obtain control of economic forces just as man had conquered other forces that once held him. Society has tackled its physical problems, but it has not yet tackled its economic problems. Never had we more need to understand these economic forces and to take control of our economic destiny."

Other points from the address were:

"The final solution of the struggle for the proper distribution of what man produces lies in the perfection of our modern industrial machine, whereby it is possible to take the soil, the timber, the minerals and other gifts of Nature and to convert them into a sufficiency, number and complexities of commodities, so that henceforth no one shall be lacking food, badly housed or clothed. With our present knowledge, it is possible to feed, clothe, house and educate the entire human race. Once man has taken modern machinery and put it to work as we have put it to work on this continent, so far as we can see, there will be enough to spare.

"After Nature has been shaped, after we have taken the mineral, timber and the fruits of the soil and made products, then comes the question: How shall these things be divided among the members of the community? These economic questions that we face today have to do primarily with the distribution of the wealth, not primarily with production: it is no longer a question of survival, of making Nature be good: it is now a question of dividing up the things that we have taken from Nature and shaped for human needs. So the economic problem today and the question of economic determinism centre on this struggle for the division of products of industrial life.

"Do not misunderstand me: I recognize as well as Mr. Gary, that it is necessary to preserve the productive processes: that the wheels must continue to turn the machinery whether under a capitalist or a socialist order of society if we are to maintain, feed and clothe the population.

"You can read and understand the seasons and prepare for them, but how many people here in Montreal know what is going on in the economic world of which they are a part? Over in the United States, there are a suprisingly large number of people who do not know in the least: they act in economic matters very much as people who might turn out on a morning when it is twenty below zero, in white duck pants. They act and talk as though nothing had happened in the United States since the signing of the Declaration of Independence, in 1776. Therefore it is important to get across to the people both in the United States and in Canada the idea of the relative importance of economic forces in the conduct of their lives.

"The mere perfection of a machine — the cotton gin to take out the seeds from the cotton plant — revolutionized the attitude towards slavery of nearly half the United States.

"Some of the most tragic people we have in the States are the rich people who have surrounded themselves with a wall of property, marooned themselves on an island of gold, who have lost the power to come into contact with their fellow human-beings.

"The time will come when men will be as free from economic slavery as they are now from slavery to the law of gravitation. The time will come when food, clothing, shelter, education and opportunity will be free to all. We will have to worry about them no more than we have now about the operation of the law of gravity. By that, I mean that every man born in the community will be made an economically free man.

"It was Bernard Shaw who states: 'We have a police force the purpose of which is to arrest every starving child who steals food. If we had a civilization, we would arrest every starving child and compel it to eat.' In other words, we would not permit what he calls 'the worst of crimes, poverty' to exist in the community."

After the address came questions, slowly at first, then in volleys. Many of them were sensible enough, and all were as sensibly answered by Mr. Nearing as it was possible to answer them. Some of the questions suggested that the questioners were hazy or extremely limited in their own fundamental definitions: of "the workers", and the "class struggle", for example. One questioner apparently considered that the "workers" with rights were only those who fabricated things, who with their hands produced food, made clothes, and built houses. Mr. Nearing said that the Russian constitution would permit Charlie Chanlin to vote.

Mr. Nearing had a cheering reception, being noisily applauded at the beginning and the end of his platform appearance.

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